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ABSTRACT

Because of the important role music plays in the lives of young adults, the graduate education of young adult librarians should include a study of the music and the musical behavior of young adults. A formal course might include reviews of research in these areas: (1) the sound recording industry and the economic factors which determine what is created and diffused; (2) research in what is known about the young adult audience; (3) content analysis of the lyrics of songs to determine what messages are presented to the young adult audience; (4) theories of the meaning and effects of recorded music; (5) the formation of musical tastes and the extent to which musical tastes are determined by socio-economic variables; (6) music appreciation (i.e., to what extent can formal education change or direct musical tastes?); (7) the repertory (a review of the types of music available within the commercial repertory of recorded music); (8) criticism and its uses in the selection of materials and its impact on the cultural diffusion of materials; and (9) the role of libraries in the diffusion process. (Author)

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The Musical Culture of Young Adults and its Relevance to Education for Librarianship

Gordon Stevenson

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The Musical Culture of Young Adults and its Relevance to Education for Librarianship

GORDON STEVENSON

I

THE MUSICAL LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES is remarkably rich and diverse with audiences for an extraordinarily large variety of different types of music. There is, however, one group of audiences whose tastes are catered to so pervasively and with such vigor that all other audiences seem to represent minority tastes. These audiences comprise the several sub-groups, variously categorized by age, sex, education, etc., which constitute the under-thirty population. The most visible of these sub-groups are school and college students between the ages of around twelve and twenty-four. The greater part of the music produced by the sound recording industry, broadcast over radio, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, performed at public concerts is for these young audiences. The music consists of various styles and genres subsumed under the general term "popular music." The most optimistic view of this music is that it is "a healthy form of communication," and that it "is not destroying the younger generation."[1] At the other extreme, we have been told that some types of popular music, particularly those identified as rock, are indeed destroying the moral fiber of American youth, undermining traditional American value systems, and encouraging anti-social

behavior, the use of drugs, and fundamental changes in sexual mores.[2] Even such an apparently innocuous song as Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel's "Bridge Over Troubled Water"[3] is seen by one critic as a subliminal "drug trip," carefully manufactured to deliberately lead innocent (and presumably unsuspecting) young people down the path to drug addiction and eventual self-destruction.[4]

It is interesting that those who attribute considerable persuasive powers to music can count themselves in the company of Plato. In The Republic we read that "the introduction of novel fashions in music is a thing to beware of as endangering the whole fabric of society, whose most important conventions are unsettled by any revolution in that quarter."[5] However, most parents probably subscribe to neither of the extreme views of the behavioral effects of music, but have reluctantly resigned themselves to accepting their children's involvement with music as a passing phase, which, although annoying, is not harmful except to the extent that it occupies time which might be better spent in other activities.[6] Those who are directly involved as participants in this experience (that is, the young people themselves) obviously value the activity of listening very highly. Indeed, their attitudes toward music seem to be almost universally favorable; and, despite the massive amounts of time spent in watching television, many young people still find time to listen to between twenty and thirty hours of recorded or broadcast music each week.

Traditional assumptions about music are not always helpful in trying to understand this youth musical culture. There are, for example, both environmental and ritualistic uses of music which seem to be substantively different from what we assume to be the more or less traditional uses of music in Western societies.[7] For many young people, particularly those in their early teens, the musical experience may have more in common with African tribal and village music than it does with the traditional opera, concert, and chamber music of the West. I do not say this facetiously, but adopt the view of some ethnomusicologists who look at musical activities from the perspective of the cultural anthropologist. For example, Merriam's comments on the Basongye could very well serve to describe the values placed on music and musicians in a typical American community:

> The villagers are unanimous in stating that musicians are extremely important people; without them, life would be intolerable. Thus the attitude toward musicians among the Basongye is ambivalent: on the one hand, they can be ordered about, and they are people whose values and behavior do not accord with what is considered proper in society: on the other hand, their role and function in the village are so important that life without them is inconceivable.[8]

What we are dealing with is a system of communication--and it is a system of communication, although it is not always easy to understand exactly what it is that is being communicated--in which the young have developed a proprietary interest. They have done this with the acquiescence of the adult population and the support of the music industries. It is a world apart from the world of the adult. It is a subculture in the sense that much of it is invisible to the outsider, it has its own inner dynamics, it is detached from (and sometimes in opposition to) the larger cultural system, and it has the elements of a secret code or language. There are also certain criteria for membership--it is particularly important that one be within a certain age category. Adults who are heavy listeners to young adult music are generally thought to be deviant or somewhat peculiar at best. Young people who prefer a type of music which has been rejected by their friends are not likely to admit it, for to some extent they have lost contact with the predominant values of their peer groups.

The rise of distinct genres of music for young people was most certainly concomitant with the rise of an adolescent culture (as defined, for example, by Coleman[9]) in the urban high schools of the United States. But the real break with the larger and once predominant adult musical culture began in the mid-1950's. At that time, as Hirsch has pointed out, "American youth . . was provided a medium all its own as the

accidental by-product of a revolution in communications technology and its economic consequences."[10] The change in technology was the rise of commercial television. Radio, largely abandoned by its adult audience, became the domain of the young, and broadcasters turned to music as their chief source of programming. With large new audiences and new outlets for its products, the entire structure of the sound recording industry changed. The major long-range impact on musical styles was the rise of rock music.[11]

As recently as a few years ago, rock was still being described by such extravagent phrases as "a revolutionary force," "the expression of a new consciousness," and "the anthem of a new lifestyle." Indeed, the music was different, and the lyrics of popular songs explored a wide range of topics which had never before been dealt with in popular music in the United States. The revolution seems to have been more shadow than substance. Nevertheless, illusions of anarchy and revolt persist today as major themes in popular song lyrics, and it is clear to even the most casual observer that within the past twenty years there have been radical changes in the emotional and intellectual messages presented in young adult music. This, in turn, is surely connected somehow with the nature of whatever it means to experience life as a young person in the United States today.

Critics, commentators, and educators who are less concerned with ideologies and behavioral effects than they are

with art and aesthetics hold widely differing views of the quality of this music. Some critics believe that at its best it is a major art form of the twentieth century, while others simply cannot take any of it seriously as a form of artistic expression. The whole question is part and parcel of the larger controversies surrounding popular culture, the state of the performing arts, and the impact of the mass electronic media in general. And like other forms of American popular culture, the impact of our music has been worldwide. It has influenced the music of other industrialized nations and the emerging countries of Africa and parts of Asia. Whatever social and cultural processes control the creation and diffusion of this music, it is clear that it is not controlled by traditional cultural institutions of home, family, or school.

II

Now, what does all of this have to do with education for librarianship? It is obvious that how librarians feel about the cultural value of music generally and the nature of young adult music specifically are important in deciding what role, if any, music is to play in young adult services. Librarians have a number of options: They can ignore the musical interests of their youthful charges; they can study these musical interests and attempt to exploit them in some constructive way; they can try to change or redirect them; or they can attempt to discourage an involvement with music. What bases do librarians

have for making these decisions? They will get little help from the library literature, and there does not seem to be a general consensus on what to do. One suspects that each librarian makes a subjective decision based on personal musical preferences. If this is the case, then whatever librarianship may be, it most certainly is not a "science," for all research indicates that individual musical tastes show a high degree of correlation with "social class, race, age, and political orientation."[12] It is surely not the function of a library collection to display the personal biases, limitations, or prejudices of the librarian. Be that as it may, there is some evidence to indicate that librarians have been acquiring recordings of popular music in increasing quantities during the past decade. This has probably happened because librarians under thirty have themselves only recently been part of the youth musical culture and some of them may still be part of it. However, I have found nothing to indicate that what has happened has been the result of a serious consideration of theoretical issues or even of basic practical issues surrounding the cultural causes and consequences of the youth musical culture.

The purpose of the material which follows is to make a case for the serious study of young adult music in graduate library schools, comment on several features of the current musical culture, identify some key research reports, and outline a proposal for a systematic approach suitable for students of library science. The topic under discussion is limited to

the use of music as an informal leisure-time activity which is pursued when the young person is not attending school classes. It is not a simple phenomenon, and many of the uncertainties of the results of research in the sociology of mass communications, popular culture, the meaning of symbols, aesthetics, and psychology are exacerbated by unanswered questions about the nature of any musical experience. Nevertheless, during the past decade there has been enough research and theoretical speculation that it is possible to begin to get a fairly good idea of how to go about studying the cultural origins of this music, the methods by which it is diffused, its possible effects, its uses, and its meaning to young people.

There are, however, some aspects of the topic which do not lend themselves to the sort of precise and objective analysis one would prefer. Since we are considering music, there is no way we can avoid some of the vagueness which surrounds all discussion of certain aspects of music. Despite the fact that all known human societies have some sort of music, despite its central role in the arts of the West, and despite a long tradition of academic research in music, it still remains a somewhat mysterious phenomenon. In the end, those who try to explain it frequently have to resort to a language which substitutes one type of vagueness for another. For example, Ridgeway and Roberts, in their study "Urban Popular Music and Interaction: A Semantic Relationship," write that music is an "expressive pattern within the more general array of expressive

options offered by our culture."[13] I leave it to the reader to decide what an "expressive pattern" may be. Even less useful is D.V. Morano's statement that "music is the language of our inner selves . . . the language of human subjectivity."[14] And what does music do? Morano says "it simply gives us back to ourselves with all our idiosyncrasies,"[15] which in a vague sort of way does seem to mean something. But in fact, music is a type of organized sound (some of which can technically be described as noise) which some people like to make and other people like to listen to, but it is not quite clear why they do this or what happens in the human brain when they do do it.

The intangible and subjective nature of the evidence attesting to the meaning of music can create practical problems. When dealing with printed literature and some types of non-print materials, the librarian is on very solid ground in terms of the social functions of the library. To encourage the development of skills in reading and thinking, to lead the young person to a better understanding of the nature of the world in which we live, to open up areas for career choices, to provide practical information for daily coping, to help teen-agers get through a very difficult transitional period in their lives: all of these are reasonably clear goals for service, they are all socially approved, and are consistent with the highest ideals of librarianship. But relating the young person's involvement with music to library services is another matter

entirely.

The reader will note that my proposal is that young adult librarians should study the music of young adults. This is not the same thing as saying that librarians should turn their libraries into disco lounges or base their record acquisitions policies on the lists of best-selling records published in the trade periodicals Billboard and Cash Box. I believe that a study of young adult music will lead to a better understanding of young people, their values and their beliefs, and perhaps even of some of their problems. Such a study will also be a revealing excursion into a much neglected area of the mass media. Most sound recordings provide entertainment, and I am inclined to accept George Gerbner's premise that "entertainment is the most broadly effective educational fare in any culture."[16] Two aspects of this education are relevant to sound recordings and their use today. There is a very strong likelihood that the musical sensibilities of young people are being formed by the music industries (which are oriented to profits, not to aesthetics), and thus the future of music as an art form may be dependent to a very great extent on the nature of this informal education. C.W.E. Bigsby addressed the second aspect when he wrote that music and other forms of popular culture "constitute a series of statements about the relationship between self and society. They not only serve to mediate and define reality; they implicitly assert a series of values."[17]

To begin to understand why it is very probable that some young adult music may be more than entertainment, library students could not do better than read some of B. Lee Cooper's essays on the potential uses of popular music in various school courses: "Examining Social Change Through Contemporary History: An Audio Media Approach,"[18] "Images of the Future in Popular Music: Lyrical Comments on Tomorrow,"[19] and "The Image of American Society in Popular Music: A Search for Identity and Values."[20] The values and images perceived in these analyses are in very sharp contrast to those found by Riesman[21] and Hayakawa[22] over twenty years ago when they examined the music of the parents of today's teen-agers. The point is that the texts of popular songs say something about the world or some small part of it, they express values which speak of the self and one's relationship to others, of love, fear, of hope and despair. Just as surely as young adult literature addresses these values and emotions, so too do the lyrics of popular songs.

III

For the purpose of this paper, "young adult music" is simply the music which young adults listen to--one could not speak of young adult music as a category based on styles or genres (as, for example, one can speak of Baroque music and liturgical music). The basic question, of course, is: What do we study when we study the music of young adults? Do we

study music as something perceived to have an inherent meaning in and of itself? Or do we study the interaction between the sounds and those who listen to the sounds in some cultural environment? The first approach is the traditional academic approach and it touches on interaction and meaning only to the extent that it studies the aesthetics of music. Charles Hamm, in considering the relationship between changes in society and changes in music, characterized the traditional approach as follows:

> One view is that since music is an abstraction--a series of marks on paper that are transformed into patterns of sound in time when the piece is performed--there can be no connection between it and such things as political events, wars, spiritual crises, labor movements, revolutions, natural disasters, and religious upheavals. Since music is an abstraction, goes this argument, it can only be understood as an abstraction--studied, talked about, described, and analyzed as a succession of sounds obeying their own rules, related only to themselves, and following certain laws of musical structure and logic. Music is something to be understood only on its own terms. The proper study of it leads to an understanding of the rules, procedures, and laws governing the organization of the various notes making up a given composition; the best analysis shows how certain pieces of music observe these rules and procedures.[23]

If this point of view is accepted by library educators, then it is obvious that the study of young adult music (or any other type of music) is clearly not the proper study of librarianship. To illustrate the limitations of this approach, consider the value of a statement such as this: The song is an AABA form, starting in C minor and modulating to E-flat major. An analysis such as this (which could go on for several pages) tells us very little about the work as a cultural or aesthetic experience, and certainly gives no clue as to why anyone might want to listen to it or why it was written in the first place. However, if we consider music from the perspectives of communication research, the question of effects, gratification, and use are raised. We assume that the activity of listening serves psychological or sociological functions in the lives of the people who listen. It is very possible that in some cases the sounds as such may be only marginally related to what is going on.

Culture and Style. It should now be clear to the reader why the term "musical culture" is more appropriate to our study than "musical style." It suggests the integration of music into a way of life, and also implies that the uses of music may be more important than the music itself. The best model I can find for this general approach is Herbert Gans's idea of "taste cultures".[24] According to this method of cultural analysis, tastes (including musical tastes) are to be understood and

examined as part of the socio-economic status, environment, history, and traditions which place the individual in society. Style, in this context, is defined by the physical sounds of the music (its acoustical structure, which involves melody, form, timber, etc.). Popular music is composed in many different styles; rock music, for example, is not stylistically homogeneous, for there are at least a half-dozen different rock styles (e.g., folk rock, country rock, hard-metal rock, etc.). The inter-relationship between culture and style (that is, whatever it is that explains why different cultures and life-styles produce different styles of music) is one of the most perplexing and least studied of all musicological questions.

Audiences. Although the librarian may finally decide that it should be the function of library services to try to change the musical preferences of young people, a prerequisite for doing anything whatsoever with music in the library has to be a study of the music which most young people listen to rather than the music some of us would prefer that they listen to. The general configuration of audience preferences for different types of music today seems to be a continuation of patterns which were established in the mid-1950's. When, in 1957, Coleman gathered information on the musical preferences of over 8,000 adolescents, he found that popular music was their overwhelming choice. Only 6.5 percent of the boys and 9.4 percent of the girls preferred classical music.[25] By 1974, although there had been massive changes in the forms and styles of popular

music it was the music preferred by around 95 percent of a national sample of seventeen year olds surveyed by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (see Table I).

These gross statistics, although imperfect in many ways, at least begin to indicate what might be called the "bottom line," the final result of the music industry's interaction with artists (composers and performers) and audiences. They are also the bottom line in evaluating our system of public education's attempt to pass on the traditions of Western classical music to a large audience.

Performers, record manufacturers, and radio broadcasters recognize that the young audience for popular music is not homogeneous. Denisoff identified four broad categories based on age: (1) "bubblegummers" (age 9 to 12) with preferences for teen idols; (2) "teenyboppers"(age 13 to 18) who are the basic audience for rock supergroups and hard-metal rock; (3) college students (age 18 to 24) who have more varied and sophisticated tastes; and (4) the "easy listening" audience (over 24) which the trade identifies as the conservative MOR ("middle-of-the-road") audience for performers such as Barbra Streisand, the Ray Conniff singers, and the like,[27] This useful taxonomy should not mislead the reader into attributing more in-group homogeneity than actually exists. Within each category there are a very large number of competing artists who display various degrees of independence and originality in

TABLE I

MUSICAL PREFERENCES

Type of Music Preferred	Age Level 9 %	13 %	17 %	26-35 %
Instrumental art (e.g., classical, symphonic)	3	4	5	12
Vocal art (e.g., opera)	1	<1	<1	1
Jazz	4	5	4	6
Folk	4	2	4	5
Rock	32	57	62	14
Country-western	8	7	5	29
Soul	1	3	5	<1
Other popular (e.g., ballads, background music)	6	8	8	21
Other types (e.g., religious, school, Christmas)	17	7	6	11
No response	24	6	0	0

Source: Excerpted from A Perspective on the First Music Assessment.[26]

terms of style. In many cases, a performer will cut across these generational lines to reach mixed audiences. Nor does the list take into account all youth sub-groups (the audience for soul music, for example). Among the members of the 24 to 30 age category, there are audiences for many types of music other than that identified as MOR; and it is the over-thirty population that supports classical music, jazz, historical and contemporary blues, folk music, ethnic music, country and western music, theater music, and older popular music.

The fascinating aspect of all of this is that different forms of music do indeed seem to serve some function in the transition from childhood to adulthood. It suggests that, for reasons which are not yet very well understood, both lyrics of songs and musical styles may be related to psychological problems which individuals must deal with at various stages of their emotional and intellectual growth. Little is known about the person's passage through these musical periods and their corresponding musical styles (from the "bubblegummer" stage to adulthood). During the young adult stage, young people--besides having extraordinary problems of identity--are certainly more vulnerable to the impact of mass media and at the same time are less likely to have the ability to make discriminating choices on the basis of quality. What they do with music and whatever music does to them at this stage probably has a lasting impact on their use of music throughout the remainder of their lives.

IV

In relating the above to the functions of libraries, library education, and research in librarianship, we can identify three broad areas which need to be considered: (1) the structure and function of the phenomenon as a dynamic cultural process, (2) the content of the recorded and broadcast repertory (they are not always the same), and (3) the question of whether the library should intervene in the cultural system to mediate between producers and consumers (that is, between composer/performers and audiences). The third of these, obviously the most important, cannot be rationally considered without a prior consideration of what is known about the processes which control the structure and content of the recorded repertory.

Sources. There is no single body of research or single research tradition devoted to the questions raised by a consideration of the uses of music by young adults. The potentials for interdisciplinary connections are numerous, but as yet have not been exploited to any great extent. Intermittently for the past fifty years, a few sociologists have briefly turned their attention to music, but it has only been since the late 1960's that some sociologists in the United States have made its study a specialty.[28] In the meantime, researchers are working in the areas of ethnomusicology, the psychology of music, and music therapy, all of which probably have something to contribute to a study of music appropriate for library students.

Another area which is obviously related to young adult music is the emerging discipline of popular culture.[29]

The first major research project to deal with some of the basic questions that have to be considered was started in 1968 at the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, under the direction of sociologist Paul M. Hirsch. In 1969, Hirsch published The Structure of the Popular Music Industry: The Filtering Process by Which Records are Preselected for Public Consumption.[30] This and subsequent research reports by Hirsch and his colleagues are basic sources in structuring a systematic approach to our topic. Particularly useful, both for its substantive content and its research methodologies, is A Progress Report on an Exploratory Study of Youth Culture and the Popular Music Industry.[31] The only other work conceived on a broad enough basis to present a reasonably comprehensive treatment of the interrelationships between composer/performers, audiences, and the popular music industry is Denisoff's Solid Gold.[2]

Structuring the Field. When Hirsch examined sociological approaches to the popular music phenomenon, he identified four areas of research: "(1) content analysis and the functional approach to the mass media, (2) the impact of popular music on its audience, (3) the impact of technological change on mass media programming, and (4) organizational analysis of entertainment industries."[32] For the purpose of library education, I would make some additions to Hirsch's list to include dimensions

of the phenomenon which do not lend themselves to sociological treatment and rearrange them in the following order: (1) the industry, (2) audience research, (3) content analysis, (4) theories of meaning and effects, (5) the formation of musical tastes, (6) music appreciation, (7) the repertory, (8) criticism, (9) the role of the library.

The reader will see that this list of topics is not very different from the sort of list one might come up with if one were dealing with any other medium, such as printed literature or the film. I do not present this as a fixed sequence of modules (although there seems to be some logic to it), but do believe that each topic should be considered.

Some Prerequisites. The library student's expectations about the nature of a course of study which includes young adult music are more than likely to be centered on the repertory. Perhaps my own students have not been typical, but I have sensed that many of them are suspicious of, indifferent to, or even hostile to the suggestion that it might be useful to study the economic and behavioral background of the repertory.[33] Whether this be generally true, I would suggest that the students who are best equipped to profit from a study of young adult music are those who have some background or interest in the study of mass communications and are familiar with various communications models and current thinking about major issues in mass communications research. For students who lack this background, I have found it helpful to ask them to read McQuail's Towards

a Sociology of Mass Communications,[34] and examine selected items from his bibliography. What needs to be encouraged is an imaginative approach, and one way to do this is to examine selections from current reviews of mass communications research and look for problems, concepts, and methods which can be related to young adult music.[35]

There are a number of general theoretical issues which will sharpen the student's awareness of broader questions which are also relevant to a consideration of the library's involvement with any system of cultural messages. In the introduction to their reader, The Sounds of Social Change, Denisoff and Peterson provide an excellent brief summary of five such issues: "(1) words versus feelings, (2) high versus low or mass art, (3) massification versus pluralism, (4) 'culture leads' versus 'culture follows' society, and (5) absolute versus contextual meanings."[36]

A Seminar. One way to pull these diverse aspects of young adult music together in such a way as to permit students to get a picture of the whole field while at the same time permitting them to exploit their own interests is to offer a seminar. The following is from a pre-registration announcement for such a seminar offered at the School of Library and Information Science in Albany several years ago:

> Lib. 680. Seminar: Music of Young Adults. We have little solid information on a cluster of issues surrounding the use of recorded music by young adults, the role music plays in peer group structures and socialization, or the

current and potential role of music in YA library services. In this seminar, students may elect to conduct research in one of the following areas: (1) interaction between young people and their musical milieu; (2) the content of popular song lyrics; or (3) the socio-economic factors which control or influence the materials actually presented to the YA audience by the record industry.

The seminar will begin with a survey (by the instructor) of available research in these areas and a review of what we do not know about YA's and their music; and from this we will derive appropriate research questions and research models for our seminar papers. Other related topics such as these may be considered: The "rock star" as a YA counter-culture image or icon; drugs and/or sex in YA pop music; the cultural values presented in YA music versus the establishment values. The seminar is not intended to decide what is good or bad, but to throw light on the musical behavior of young people.[37]

I allowed my students a considerable amount of leeway in choosing their research topics, and they proved to be too diverse to be briefly described or summarized here. The two areas of research which they found most attractive were audience research and content analysis. The general impression I had was that those students who preferred content analysis had themselves been deeply involved in popular music and were primarily interested in very specific composer/performers. Those who were interested

in audience research seemed to be more involved in the general professional functions of young adult librarianship.

V

In order to see just how complex this phenomenon is, we must take a closer look at some of the processes which make possible the seemingly ordinary act of listening to music. At the same time, we may note some of the problems and prospects for research and study in the various subdivisions of the field which are outlined above.

The Industry. It is assumed that the music industry is capable of manipulating audiences, creating best-selling records, and controlling the contents of recordings. Certainly, many record manufacturers want to do this and try very hard to do it. But in the end, young people are the final arbiters: a record cannot become a hit unless it is purchased in large quantities. On the other hand, records which are not broadcast over radio are not likely to get even a preliminary audition by the young adult audience. The symbiotic relationship which exists between major record manufacturers and some radio broadcasters (particularly the top-forty stations) has no parallel in any other medium.[38] Hirsch has examined the process which begins when a major record manufacturer decides to record a new performer or group and traces the product through "the politics of recording contracts, company policymaking, copyright law, regional promotion, Top 40 station selection, to the final goal of airplay,

exposure--and popular acclaim."[39] He describes a process of "preselection," which filters out the bulk of the recorded material long before it reaches the final gatekeepers, the broadcast programmers who decide which material will get airplay.

The main purpose in studying the broadcasting and record manufacturing industries is to determine to what extent they influence the substantive content of the material issued to the public--that is, to what extent they define the nature of music as perceived by current audiences. Peterson and Berger have challenged the assumptions that repeated airplay "can induce consumers to buy whatever they hear," and that "in a market, consumers necessarily get what they want."[40] One of their hypotheses is that "the degree of diversity in musical forms [that is, the number of different forms and styles of music recorded and broadcast] is inversely related to the degree of market concentration."[41] In another work, they briefly examine major eras which have shown structural changes in the industry and again related these changes to changes in the types of music issued (with specific comments on the content of popular song lyrics).[42] The point is that when the industry is dominated by a few major record manufacturers (as it was until around 1955) there is limited room for new types of music, for diversity, or for creativity. An oligopoly simply closes off channels of communication. This sort of tightly controlled system is obviously based on its economic advantages for a limited number of manufacturers. Since around 1970, the major record companies have

slowly regained control of the system so that we appear to be moving in the direction of the type of industry which existed before around 1955. Geoffrey Stokes, in a fascinating account of the making and marketing of one LP recording, wrote this: "Though the exact figures are hidden behind various conglomerate screens, the best industry estimates are that two companies, Warner's and CBS, held over half of the domestic market during 1974. A handful of other majors divided all but 5 to 10 percent of the remaining share."[43] This has enormous implications for determining the library's role in the diffusion process.

One cannot examine the industry without studying lists of best selling records (which are called "charts"). The background of how record charts are compiled, what they mean, and their potential uses in research have been discussed by Hesbacher, Downing, and Berger.[44] Csida and Csida wrote a succinct account of the origins and history of the charts and their current use by the industry.[45] Lists of best selling books cannot be compared to the record charts in terms of their impact on what is finally presented to the public. Since charts not only list best selling records in various genres, but are also an essential part of the strange process that creates a hit recording, library students should be better prepared to make decisions concerning record selection if they are familiar with their role in the industry.

The bulk of the academic interest in the industry has been directed to the examination of the production and diffusion of

material used in top-forty radio programming. However, the young adult librarian's study of the industry has to include the entire industry. If Stokes' estimate is correct, then of the 800 or so record labels listed in the catalogs of the Schwann Company, only around 5 percent account for from 90 to 95 percent of the total annual record sales in the United States.[45] But it is the other 95 percent of the record companies that account for much of the great diversity of recorded materials available. It is obvious that the independent labels give the recorded repertory a depth, breadth, and richness which is a more accurate representation of the world of music than is evident from the products of those manufacturers which dominate the Billboard record charts.[46]

The young adult audience is forever changing as new generations of young people move into their teens as their older brothers and sisters leave school for the world of the adult. The impact of the post-World War II baby boom is over, and each year the size of the 12-24 age group gets smaller. This has not gone unnoticed by some executives of the popular music industry.[47] We can be sure that every effort is going to be made by major manufacturers to convince more adults to purchase records. They may also try to educate young adults in music genres (such as jazz and classical music) which can be carried over into adult life.

Audience Research. Denisoff has pointed out that "perhaps the most impoverished area of popular music studies is that

dealing with its audience."[48] The difficulties involved in audience research were clearly stated by Riesman a long time ago:

> I am convinced that we cannot understand the role of any communication medium in isolation from the other media and from other leisure activities, any more than we can understand individual manipulation of the materials in the media without understanding the group which the individual belongs to, wants to belong to, or wants to be set apart from.
>
> This truism led me to the further conclusion that one cannot hope to understand the influence of any one medium, say music, without an understanding of the total character structure of a person. In turn, an understanding of his musical tastes, and his use of them for purposes of social conformity, advance, or rebellion, provides revealing clues to his character, to be confirmed and modified by a knowledge of his behavior and outlook in many other spheres of life. . . . Plainly, we cannot simply ask "who listens to what?" before we find out who "who" is and what "what" is by means of a psychological and content analysis which will give us a better appreciation of the manifold uses, the plasticity of music for its variegated audiences.[49]

Riesman wrote this in 1950, and not much progress has been made along the lines he suggested. Most audience research tries to find out what styles or genres young people prefer. But

studies involving thorough and systematic investigation of variables are seldom undertaken. Of particular interest to librarians are data on correlations between listening habits and such variables as reading habits and skills, academic achievement, intelligence, and personal values (e.g., achievement and affiliation motives). The whole area is wide open for research and lends itself to relatively modest projects at the local level which could be done by students of library science and practicing young adult librarians. Most research done to date has been with college undergraduates (one suspects that this is because of the easy availability of college students to academic researchers), but some of the questions asked in this research and its methodologies are potentially applicable to high school students.[50] Two groups which have been almost completely neglected are high school dropouts and high school graduates who do not go on to college.

One of the notable results of Hirsch's study is the conclusion that "there is no single, undifferentiated mass audience of American teenagers, each of whose members has an equal probability of being attracted to and possibly 'influenced' by a given popular song hit."[51] Sex differences do not seem to be very important in terms of musical preferences, although Denisoff concluded that "popular music, especially for young girls, serves as a rite of passage from Raggedy Ann to boys. Girls between the ages of nine through 12, an age bracket rapidly expanding to include six-year-olds, purchase a lion's share of the singles in the United States."[52]

A paradox which was noted by some of my seminar students was that high school students have a tremendously large variety of preferred performers from a very narrow stylistic sphere of current mainstream popular music. A survey of a total sample of 77 students from the four grade levels of an urban high school produced a list of 170 different performers (all loosely identified as rock musicians) when subjects were asked to list their "favorite performers."[53] In a larger study involving students from five high schools in an urban area, the list of "favorite performers" came to 274 individualmusicians and rock groups.[54] Young adult librarians who plan on learning the recorded repertory of high school students obviously have their work cut out for them.

Another interesting phenomenon that emerged from these surveys was that younger students seemed to be very dogmatic in their likes and dislikes, showing almost no tolerance for anything other than top-forty material. This is not consistent with the findings of the National Assessment of Educational Progress data (quoted in Table I)--the Seminar results were acquired by having students listen to and evaluate recorded musical excerpts which were not identified, whereas the National Assessment data were acquired by asking the students to identify their favorite musical genres. In any case, senior high school classes were more likely to include a few students who could tolerate (and even admit to enjoying) such esoteric fare as a Raga by Ravi Shankar, a jazz improvisation by Louis Armstrong, and a Sonata by Henry Purcell. Few students at any level showed

anything but ridicule for country and western music and absolute revulsion for avant garde classical music.

Most research on the psychological impact of music indicates that it has a positive effect.[55] In a preface to a brief report of an experiment on the psychological effects of music (using a research method involving the measurement of galvanic skin responses), Peretti gives a succinct summary of research results and hypotheses as of 1974. He concluded that his own research suggests that music was used by his subjects (a group of college students) "as an emotional scapegoat for those emotions associated with anxiety. It was a vehicle for emotional release and acted as an anxiety-reducing agent."[56] Many adults will find this hard to reconcile with the high decibel, emotionally charged, rhythmically powerful sounds of some rock music. More than likely, as Riesman noted, more variables need to be studied: we want to know what emotional effects are associated with what music, by what students, and under what circumstances?

To date, there has been very little research on precisely why different groups of people, young or old, prefer different styles of music. The work of Ridgeway and Roberts seems to be a pioneering effort in this direction. They write that:

> Music may aid in group solidarity and social integration within subculture, as well as in the maintenance of the subculture's normative pattern of behavior. At the same time this may serve several psychological needs (as distinct

> from aesthetic needs, which are also very important but quite different) for the individual listener, expressing the individual's feelings according to the social norms he is familiar with, and increasing his sense of belongingness and acceptance within his subculture.[57]

The problem may be illustrated by this question: Are there inherent stylistic features (e.g., specific melodic, rhythmic, or harmonic styles) of blues and soul music which are more likely to elicit a response from black youngsters than from white youngsters? If this is the case, why is it the case? There are no generally accepted answers to these questions.

Some content analysis studies are conceived of as audience studies in that they draw conclusions about the psychological states of audiences on the basis of content. I will comment on these in the next section, butthis is the place to point out that we need more studies which combine content analysis and audience research in some direct way. For example, how do young people interpret the content of song texts? Dealing with fairly sophisticated material (controversial protest songs), Robinson and Hirsch found that more than 70 percent of the high school students in their survey made in the late 1960's could not correctly interpret the verbal messages.[58] It seems very unlikely that this is a generally valid picture of the overall relationship between young people and the texts of popular songs today, but librarians really ought to find out.

The rather primitive state of audience research is quite evident when we realize that there have been no follow-up studies to determine long-range effects. The predictions of the dire consequences of exposure to the rock culture of the late 1960's and early 1970's may or may not be verified by studies of the subsequent histories of the young people who lived through this experience. In 1971, Goldberg (a psychologist) said that behind the hedonistic facade of the rock culture, there was a "sickness, the sickness of intimacy-anxiety, autistic preoccupation, and alienation from others."[59] Was this nonsense or a scientific fact? A proper research plan would have included a research tool which would have permitted subsequent verification or retesting of the hypotheses. Librarians should be cautious in their use of this sort of analysis of audiences.

Content Analysis. "There is little doubt," Merriam wrote, "that song texts present an extremely fruitful potential for the understanding of deep-lying values and sanctions, as well as problems, of a given people."[60] It is for this reason that a rather large amount of what has been said about the meaning and influence of popular music on the young is based on some form of content analysis. But two problems have been associated with such analyses. The first is the extent to which one can draw conclusions about the psychological and sociological significance of the material on the basis of its intellectual content (which is to say that we analyze what has been said by the performer, not what has been heard by the listener, and these may not be the

same thing). The second problem is that a song as an experience or event consists of both words and music, but as yet no one has found a satisfactory way to make a content analysis which deals with the music or the inter-relationship between words and music (any trained musician can analyze the harmonic-rhythmic-melodic structure of a song, but such an analysis doesn't really tell us much that is very useful). Thus, after having been introduced to the fundamentals of content analysis research methodologies,[61] students should consider several methodological critiques, at least those by Denzin[62] and Denisoff.[63] One can and should discuss the problems associated with content analysis, but one can't do much about them except to be reasonable cautious in interpreting research results.

We have content analyses of popular song lyrics going back to the early 1940's, but a convenient place to begin is Horton's classic study of songs from 1955: "The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs."[64] This is an analysis of the moon-June-spoon syndrome which has been characteristic of mainstream American popular music since shortly after the turn of the century--these sentiments, however, have not been characteristic of the country or urban blues, of jazz lyrics, or of early country and western music. A decade after Horton's work was published, Mooney noted significant changes in song lyrics;[65] Cole made a study of a sample of lyrics from the decade of the 1960's;[66] and Carey examined the changing courtship patterns expressed in the more recent popular songs.[67] Wanzenried and Di Salvo looked for fundamental changes over time and demonstrated rather

convincingly that after the mid-1960's there was a change from intensionally oriented to extensionally oriented lyrics.[68]

There are a number of excellent studies of content which are not quantitative, and thus can be categorized as analysis or criticism if compared to similar studies of literature. The work of Cooper is particularly valuable to the young adult librarian.[69] Another useful study is Chenoweth's "The Rhetoric of Hope and Despair: A Study of the Jimi Hendrix Experience and the Jefferson Airplane." In this sensitive essay, Chenoweth is concerned with how some rock music can be related to "Theories on man's search for influence, power and control during periods of value confusion," and draws on theories of Rollo May, Alfred Adler, and Nathan Adler.[70] It could be used as a model for the analysis of current popular song lyrics.

Unfortunately there is no large-scale, systematic, on-going research project to monitor and analyze content as it is produced. I am thinking of something of the scope of the systematic analysis of television content made at the Annenberg School of Communications.[71] Hirsch's work seems to be directed to this end, for one of the aims of his research at the Survey Research Center was to examine the "possibilities of using popular music as a social indicator."[72]

Students of young adult librarianship should consider doing research in the comparative production of symbols in different media. For example, little effort has been made to compare results of the analysis of television content with the content

of other media. In television there are underlying motives of fear, greed, violence, black humor, and sex. Are the predominant images and values perpetuated in song lyrics different? They would seem to be, but we should find out. It may be the case that the librarian can justify the use of at least some types of young adult music as a constructive alternative to some of the dysfunctional messages of television. Librarians will also find it instructive to compare the lyrics of young adult songs with those produced for adults. For example, the lyrics of country and western music (which, at the present time, is one of the most popular adult genres) seem to be at odds with top-forty song lyrics. This may indicate serious differences in the value systems of blue-collar parents and their teen-aged children.[73] Another area that seriously needs comparative analysis is that of soul music. Although this style has been absorbed in part into white musical styles, it is still sufficiently unique and has a well enough defined audience that it is listed separately in the Billboard charts. If the collection of soul lyrics assembled by A. X. Nicholas is representative, then this music has a very special significance to black young adults.[74]

A consideration of the young adult literature about music opens up another important area for analysis and study. Periodicals such as Creem, Tiger Beat, Circus, Crawdaddy, and Hit Parader are sub-systems of the youth musical culture. Their relationship to the record industry is as close as that of the

radio industry. They are probably as widely read as any other type of young adult literature. The best explanation I have found of why they are read is the result of research by Clarke, who is primarily interested in "how use of the mass media serves social functions and has social origins."[75] I have found no detailed studies of the content of this periodical literature. It has its equivalent in the adult world in the periodicals knows as "celebrity magazines." It is a type of sensational journalism in which the young musician becomes a cultural hero, whose importance has more to do with lifestyles and young adult fantasies that with music as such. For analysis, theoretical perspectives can be drawn from the research literature on what we once called "hero worship."[76]

Theories. One of the most enduring and at the same time most questionable theories of the use of mass media is the "escape" theory.[77] It is generally assumed that escaping from the real world into a world of dreams and fantasies is not healthy, but why this is the case has not been empirically demonstrated. One could just as well argue that a certain amount of escape is necessary, perhaps even essential--a refuge against madness in a confusing world. A typical use of this theory was reported recently in the New York Times. Harvard psychologist Sheldon White, after examining the extensive use of portable transistor radios by males of black and Hispanic origins in the streets of New York, "attributed this phenomenon to their having 'more reason to tune out' of the society around them."[78] This

is consistant with the theory which links alienation with a desire to escape by turning to the mass media. What is troublesome about this theory is that the person who listens to broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera is assumed to be having a profound aesthetic experience, whereas the person who listens to soul music is escaping. Could one not just as well escape by listening to thirteenth-century Latin motets, sixteenth-century Italian madrigals, or Beethoven string quartets?

As to the consequences of escaping via recorded music, Luthe raised the question "to what extent recorded music . . . leads to a kind of banishment from Utopia, that is, if and how far recorded music reduces cultural aspirations and produces symptoms of surfeit or even apathy"--borrowing a concept from Riesman, Luthe speaks of "the music of the lonely crowd."[79] The escape theory has outlived its usefulness and may even be counterproductive. Library students would be better advised to look into the more recent theories of uses and gratifications, the uses and misuses of which have recently been examined by Swanson,[80] and which have been related to popular culture studies by Carey and Kreiling.[81]

There have been several attempts to deal specifically with theoretical aspects of rock. Harmon examined the "triangular interplay between the new music, the processes of communication, and youth," and based a theoretical model on the work of Kenneth Boulding.[82] Vulliamy examines rock within the context of the mass culture.[83] Doughty formulates an aesthetic theory

of rock which is quite different from other methods of approaching this phenomenon.[84] Levine and Harig examine rock by various standard models of the effects of mass media, and are sympathetic to Barnouw's suggestion that "music and other forms of popular entertainment are 'basically propaganda for the status quo.'"[85]

Some library students may find these theoretical approaches contradictory and confusing. But from the instructor's point of view, they: (1) provide a variety of interesting ways of examining young adult music, (2) indicate that there is still much research to be done, and (3) demonstrate that certain aspects of the topic <u>are</u> complicated and confusing, and there is no point in pretending that this is not the case.

VI

The topics discussed above can be studied objectively and systematically without being grossly distorted by the personal biases of individual library students. However, personal and subjective factors which result from students' present and past relationships with music will inevitably have an influence on what they see as a proper role for the library in the diffusion of sound recordings. For this reason, the education of young adult librarians should include some form of music appreciation in order to increase their sensitivity to various styles and genres of music. And an examination of the elusive nature of musical tastes should help students understand and respect

the tastes of others, even if their own tastes are limited.

Musical Taste. In trying to explain the relationship between young people and music, Harmon wrote: "Under some conditions, sometimes, some kinds of music 'reach' some young people to some extent."[86] The music that "reaches" people, young or old, is the music they enjoy listening to. When evaluating the musical preferences of young adults, I suggest that, for the time being at least, we abandon the concepts of "good taste" and "bad taste" and assume that John Mueller's comments on the social nature of musical tastes constitute a valid working hypothesis: "We cannot evade the conclusion that the answer to our question, 'What is good music?,' may differ from culture to culture, from epoch to epoch, from person to person, and even from time to time within the same person, as well as the particular occasion."[87] Library students should be dissuaded from the belief that there is a single, absolute criterion of good taste or that their own tastes are necessarily valid criteria for selecting musical recordings for other people.

To illustrate in a rather blatant way the extent to which musical sounds are culture-bound, I recommend that library students listen to a variety of non-Western classical and folk styles (particularly Eastern and Middle-Eastern vocal styles). Then one should turn to a few examples of regional styles from the United States, with examples of white vocal styles from the Southern Appalachians, early commercial country and western

music, and various vocal styles of the blues. The purpose is to demonstrate that individual musical tastes are very much predetermined by accidents of birth and social circumstance.[88] One can also demonstrate just how incredibly difficult it is for any of us to transcend our own cultural limitations and biases.

This approach is consistent with the recommendation of Gans: "A comparative analysis of high and popular culture must begin not with personal judgments about their quality but with a perspective that sees each of them as existing because they satisfy the needs and wishes of some people, even if they dissatisfy those of other people."[89] An interesting aspect of the musical tastes of young people--and this is a bit disturbing--is the extent to which they seem to verify Riesman's concept of "other direction."[90] This means that group norms and the desire to find acceptance through the adoption of group norms are major factors in the determination of individual preferences. If this is true, then many young people are trapped in a system which discourages the exploration of a wider range of aesthetic experiences.

The paucity of solid information on the formation of musical tastes was noted by Hirsch, who has raised these questions: "Is there a developmental stage . . . in which musical taste becomes 'fixed'? Do most teenagers 'know what they like' before entering high school and remain essentially unchanged throughout? Do tastes become 'fixed' while still in high school?

Or is 'taste' a fluid and changeable abstraction, capable of shifts at any time during the life cycle?"[91]

Music Appreciation. One way or another, people develop some sort of response to music. For the most part, these musical likes and dislikes seem to be the result of the larger cultural environment. For most young people, there is a certain accidental or arbitrary quality to this process of learning to listen. And there is no reason to assume that this is not as true of young adult librarians as it is of the young people they try to serve. The disadvantage to this haphazard type of musical learning is that most people learn to listen to and enjoy only an extremely small part of the music available. If, for example, they like the standard classical symphonic repertory, they will probably dislike or be indifferent to such genres as country and western music and jazz. If they like country and western music, the chances that they would enjoy an opera are slight indeed. In any case, research to identify the types of music different groups of people prefer among the various choices available to them is considerably less complicated than deciding what to do with this information.

If young adult library services are committed to providing some sort of educational experience, then one could argue that the library should offer an alternative source for musical experiences. This approach would be based on the premise that the mass media serve some cultural functions and that school and public libraries serve other cultural functions. Insofar as

a trend can be identified in young adult music services, it seems to be towards propagating musical works which have already been widely diffused through the mass media, rather than encouraging the exploration of genres and styles which are not diffused through the mass media.[92] The basis for this and other such policies in regard to the diffusion of popular culture by tax-supported institutions has not been rationalized. On the other hand, the attempt to systematically change and enlarge the musical tastes of people--that is, the study of music appreciation--has long been sanctioned by public policy in regard to education and, more recently, by the Federal government with the establishment of the National Endowment for the Humanities. But these educational efforts have been limited almost exclusively to the repertory of Western classical music after around 1700. If egalitarianism is to be extended to cultural affairs, then one could make a case for the legitimacy of all musical styles and genres (classical, folk, and popular). To implement a policy based on cultural egalitarianism would involve the librarian in the study of virtually all types of music. This would raise such questions as these: Is it possible to learn to appreciate, say, country and western music? Is it possible for a person to appreciate such diverse musical styles as those represented in the late Beethoven string quartets and, say, the vocal styles of early country blues singers?[93]

The idea that there is some value in trying to develop an appreciation for a variety of different types of music is consistent with the thinking of some music educators. The report of

the Yale Seminar on Music Education recommended that for junior high schools "a course is needed that is flexible enough to engage the interests of students whose chief musical experiences are outside the classroom and certainly outside the tradition of concert music. A course on 'Music of the Peoples of the World' would satisfy this need."[94] The proposed outline for the course includes jazz, in addition to music from Spain and Latin America, Africa, Java, France, and Germany. One would surely include among the "peoples of the world" all of the ethnic, regional, and cultural groups found in the United States. One of the assumptions underlying this proposal is that "once the boundary of Western music is pierced at some point by sympathetic listening and performance, receptiveness to a broad variety of non-Western styles suddenly increases."[95] In the years since this proposal was made in 1964, we have seen a great interest among secondary school educators for the development of teaching based on what is called "multicultural education." This is directed to recognizing the legitimacy of the cultural pluralism of the United States and the rest of the world. One of the most recent works on the philosophical and practical implications of multicultural education includes a brief outline of a unit on music.[96]

The Repertory. The recorded repertory consists of the potential source of materials available to librarians, therefore its study should be thorough and systematic. There is no single guide to all genres of recorded music, but there are many excellent sources for specific areas. Halsey's book is the best librarian's

guide to the classical repertory.[97] The guides to jazz and some of its subsidiary forms (blues, ragtime, etc.) are quite numerous. To get into the areas of folk music and commercial country and western music, we now have Sandberg and Weissman's Folk Music Sourcebook,[98] which has excellent discographies of many diverse styles, including Chicano music, Gospel music, blues, and bluegrass. Among the many guides to mainstream popular music from rock-n-roll to the numerous recent styles of rock, the Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll,[99] with its fine historical surveys and selective discographies, is indispensable. A major area that is without a good discographic guide is that of non-Western classical and folk music. David Reck's Music of the Whole Earth[100] could be used as a text on the appreciation of the music of non-Western cultures, and as such is a unique source for librarians. But it is unfortunate that the author did not include a discography. As to the repertory which is of central concern to young adults, access to it is not a serious problem, provided one takes the time to listen regularly to selected AM and FM radio stations.

What young adult librarians should know about the recorded repertory depends on what they want to do with their record collections. If library record collections are to be used only as "book bait" without any attempt to influence the listening habits of young people, one would not need the sort of exhaustive survey I have proposed. On the other hand, librarians who want to attempt to broaden the musical horizons of young people will

be limited by their own knowledge and appreciation of the vast resources currently available.

Criticism. There are two aspects of the criticism of recorded music which are of interest to students of library science, one theoretical and one practical. The first is the question of the role of the music critic in the cultural diffusion of the materials. Does the critic have any impact on what is broadcast over radio, stocked in record shops, and purchased by young people? Does the critic influence creativity by offering analyses and insights which are taken seriously by composers and performers? Does the music critic have any influence whatsoever on the course of events? In the case of current rock music, it seems that certain prestigious review sources, such as Rolling Stone and Crawdady, do have a strong influence on some of the gatekeepers of radio broadcasting, the disc jockies. These sources may also function in a fashion similar to the process identified as the "two-step flow of communications" (that is, the reviews may influence opinion leaders who in turn influence young people who have not read the reviews). On the other hand, it is obvious that some of the youth-oriented supergroups (from the hard-metal rock genre) have consistently received negative reviews from rock critics, but have still produced records which have sold in the millions and found large, enthusiastic groups of fans.

For librarians who are not themselves deeply involved in current popular music--who do not know, for example, the work of

Neil Young from the work of Stevie Wonder, or Pink Floyd from Fleetwood Mac--a systematic survey of current reviews is indispensable.

VII

I have tried to demonstrate that the study of the musical culture of young adults is of value to library education to the extent that it helps us to understand their musical behavior and also throws some light on their perceptions of the world in which they live. They have--as we all have, whether we know it or not--what Leonard Meyer has identified as a "cultural ideology." Cultural ideologies, according to Meyer, consist of "the most deep-seated beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions which . . . are the unconscious premises, the basic categories, which channel and direct our perceptions, our responses, our cognitions --in short, our understanding of ourselves and the world."[101] This raises important questions, such as these: Where do we get these cultural ideologies and how are they formed? Do individuals shape their own ideologies? Are they subject to rational control?

In studying cultural ideologies and their formation, there is no way that we can avoid examining the mass media and the processes which control them; and for this reason I have placed much emphasis on the value to library students of an examination of the structure of the music industry. My assumption has been that if librarians want to support or encourage a specific type of musical behavior, they should know something about the dynamics

of the system which is responsible for that behavior. I have further assumed that if librarians want to attempt to change the musical behavior of young adults, they should know exactly what it is they are dealing with, for it is inevitable that they will be working against the main flow of mass media influences.[102]

Popular music in the life of the young person is only one strand in a complex and ever-changing network of media messages, inter-personal communications, and institutional relationships. But at a certain point in the lives of many, perhaps most, young people, recorded and broadcast music seems to satisfy needs which are not served by other means and other channels of communication. It is a safe assumption that much of this takes place at some level near the subconscious. There are probably few young people who consciously examine music or their relationships to it--I would go so far as to suggest that most of them do not know what is happening to them or why, and that most of them do not know in any rational sense why they like whatever kinds of music they do like.

The evidence suggests that needs for affiliation, identidy, and group membership are in part served by musical cultures. This does not preclude the use of music to satisfy needs for introspection, fantasy, and a release from emotional tension and anxiety. Aside from these extra-aesthetic functions, we have no reason to discount the possibility of experiences comparable to those provided by classical music to its audiences. If there is an "aesthetic need," as some have stated, then many people--young and old--

satisfy this need with forms of popular music. And if adults are confused by what appear to be rapid changes in popular music styles, this may be because the need for novelty is stronger in the young than in the old.

The interrelationship between young people and music is one thing. The acquisition of recordings of popular music for young adult service programs is another. As is the case with many services offered by libraries, there is a commercial service which provides the same services for a charge: if one wants recordings, one can purchase them if one has the money. In the case of recorded music, the service is provided free by radio broadcasters under certain conditions set by the broadcasters. With current popular music so generally available, why should librarians use public funds to supply it? This is not an easy question to answer, for it is very much related to one's philosophy of librarianship and the characteristics of audiences which different libraries serve (an inner-city branch librarian would look at the issue quite differently from a librarian serving an affluent suburban branch). In any case, librarians acquire sound recordings for young adults in order to use them as "book bait" or they acquire them to more widely diffuse the materials because of what are seen to be their intrinsic value in responding to needs which are thought to be a legitimate concern of their libraries.

The idea that sound recordings can be used to establish a rapport with young people and used as a lure to get them into the library so that they may be exposed to other materials and services is an attractive one. Apparently, many librarians

believe that their practices of book-baiting are effective, but one would like to see some sytematic research on just how they work, how well they work, and what long-term behavioral effects take place.

A consideration of the intrinsic value of young adult music gets us into questions of quality and aesthetic judgments. One can identify two types of questions: (1) those related to comparisons of popular music and art or classical music (which raises the more general question of popular versus elite culture), and (2) those dealing with qualitative standards within popular culture genres. My response to these issues (admittedly based on my own "cultural ideology") is that much popular music is every bit as imaginative, artistic, and original as the music of contemporary composers working in the classical tradition, and that within the various genres of popular music there are tremendous variations in quality which are readily evident to listeners who have developed an emphatic relationship to specific popular styles. I do not believe that the two broad categories, classical and popular, need be mutually exclusive; a listener who has made a commitment to one area to the exclusion of the other is missing something of value.

Notes and References

1. Lawrence, Sharon: A Grown-Up's Guide to Rock Music. Ladies' Home Journal, 94:1:107, January 1977.

2. For accounts of the more extreme criticisms of rock music, see: Denisoff, R. Serge: Solid Gold. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books, 1975, pp. 377-421. Somewhat similar criticisms are part of the history of jazz in the United States (see: Leonard, Neil: Jazz and the White Americans. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962) and also figured in the urban folk music revival of the 1950's and 1960's (see: Denisoff, R. Serge: Great Day Coming. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1973, pp. 142-53). Not all criticisms of rock music come from the radical right. An organization identified as Women Against Violence Against Women has called for action "against the portrayal of women in violent and sexual situations to sell records." Its main concern is not so much the music as the packaging of LP recordings which include pictures contributing to "the overall environment that romanticizes, trivializes and even encourages violence against women," see: Brozan, Nadine: Record Covers Come Under Attack for Portraying Crimes on Women. New York Times, June 1, 1977, p. 16.

3. Simon, Paul and Garfunkel, Art : "Bridge Over Troubled Water." Phonodisc. Columbia LP 9914.

4. Key, Wilson Bryan: Media Sexploitation. New York, New American Library, 1977, pp. 138-41.

5. Plato: The Republic. Translated by Francis MacDonald Cornford. London, Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 115.

6. If the new musical genre identified as "punk rock" continues to reach children in their pre-teens and early teens, parents will probably attempt

to censor it. Punk rock seems to be a continuation of the bizarre nihilism of Alice Cooper, which was thought by some people to be the "sickest, most degenerate band in America" (Greene, Bob: Billion Dollar Baby. New York, Atheneum, 1974, p. 9). The group which calls itself Kiss, currently the foremost exponent of punk rock in the United States, has been described as "gross," "disgusting," and "outrageous." Colette Dowling wrote that this group sings lurid songs "about hookers, boozing, a doctor who cures 'sick' girls by allowing them to make love to him, a 93-year-old man who falls in love with a 16-year old girl" (An Outrage Called Kiss. New York Times Magazine, June 19, 1977, p. 18). See also John Rockwell's comments on Kiss (The Pop Life, New York Times, Dec. 3, 1976, p. C-14) and on the Sex Pistols, a British punk rock group (The Pop Life. New York Times, June 24, 1977, p. C-10). Paul Hendrickson gives a succinct account of the widespread local interest in punk rock, and writes "Bored with superstars, kids turn to gross lyrics, weird dress of the music they call punk rock" (The National Observer, June 27, 1977, pp. 1, 16). Rockwell sees the success of Kiss not as a desire for real anarchy, but as the affluent, secure teen-ager's childish illusion of anarchy; on the other hand, he says that some of the lyrics of songs by the Sex Pistols "are frightening." As is frequently the case with forms of popular music, punk rock is more than a style of music, for it defines a fashion or fad, if not a lifestyle.

7. The most pervasive environmental music is Muzak. Each day around 60 million people in the United States hear Muzak (or try not to hear it) and other forms of background music in public places. The

manufacturers of Muzak claim they have scientifically studied the effects of music and have arranged and programmed their product to improve working conditions (and they may be right); but it is astonishing that there seems to be no solid research on the social or cultural effects of Muzak by psychologists or musicologists. Muzak may be a major factor in musical acculturation.

8. Merriam, Alan P.: The Anthropology of Music. Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1964, p. 136.

9. Coleman, James: The Adolescent Society. New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. A formal distinction between "adolescence" and "youth" was made by Kenneth Kenniston (Youth: A (New) Stage of Life. American Scholar, 39:4:631, Autumn 1970), and it was later claimed that "there was no 'youth culture' before the 1960s" (President's Science Advisory Committee. Panel on Youth: Youth: Transition to Adulthood. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 119).

10. Hirsch, Paul M.: Sociological Approaches to the Pop Music Phenomenon. American Behavioral Scientist, 14:381, Jan./Feb. 1971.

11. The movement began as rock-n-roll, which combined certain stylistic features of white country and western music and black gospel-blues-soul traditions. It reached a large audience when B.M.I. (Broadcast Music Incorporated) successfully challenged the hegemony of A.S.C.A.P. (American Society of Composers, Authors, and Performers), and when the independent record manufacturers destroyed what was virtually an oligopoly controlled by five major recording companies. This transitional period is discussed at length by Charlie Gillett (The Sounds of the City. New York, Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, 1970).

12. Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Roberts, John M.: Urban Popular Music and Interaction: A Semantic Relationship. Ethnomusicology, 20:233, May 1976.

13. Ibid.

14. Morano, D.V.: Music: The Language of Subjectivity. Human Context, 7:322-3, 1975.

15. Ibid.

16. Gerbner, George, and Gross, Larry: Living With Television: The Violence Profile. Journal of Communication, 26:177, Spring 1976.

17. Bigsby, C. W. E., ed.: Approaches to Popular Culture. Bowling Green, Ohio, Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976, p. vii.

18. Cooper, B. Lee: Examining Social Change Through Contemporary History: An Audio Media Proposal. The History Teacher, 6:523-34, Aug. 1973.

19. _____: Images of the Future in Popular Music: Lyrical Comments on Tomorrow. Social Education, 39:276-85, May 1975.

20. _____: The Image of American Society in Popular Music: A Search for Identity and Values. The Social Studies, 64:319-21, Dec. 1973.

21. Riesman, David: Listening to Popular Music. American Quarterly, 2:359-71, 1950.

22. Hayakawa, S.I.: Popular Songs vs. the Facts of Life. Etc: A Review of General Semantics, 12:83-95, Winter 1955.

23. Hamm, Charles: Changing Patterns in Society and Music: The U.S. Since World War II. In Hamm, Charles; Nettl, Bruno; and Byrnside, Ronald: Contemporary Music and Music Culture. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 35.

24. Gans, Herbert: Popular Culture and High Culture. New York, Basic Books, 1974.

25. Coleman, Ref. 9, p. 23

26. National Assessment of Educational Progress: A Perspective on the First Music Assessment. (Report 03-MU-02) Denver, 1974, p. 23.

27. Denisoff, Ref. 2, Solid Gold, p. 449.

28. "Sociology of music," W.V. Blomster recently wrote, "although widely practiced in Germany for half a century, remains here [that is, in the United States] an alien science"(review of: Adorno, T.W.: Introduction to the Sociology of Music. New York, Seabury, 1976, in Notes, 33:831, June 1977).

29. Stevenson, Gordon: Popular Culture and the Public Library. In: Advances in Librarianship, Vol. 7, edited by Melvin J. Voigt and Michael H. Harris. New York, Academic Press, 1977, pp. 177-229.

30. Hirsch, Paul: The Structure of the Popular Music Industry. Ann Arbor, Mich., Institute for Social Research, 1969.

31. _____: A Progress Report on an Exploratory Study of Youth Culture and the Popular Music Industry. Ann Arbor, Mich., Survey Research Center, 1972.

32. _____: Ref. 10, p. 372.

33. It has been my experience that graduate library school students who have been undergraduate music majors, contrary to what one might expect, do not have any special insights which make them better prepared to study young adult music than students from other undergraduate disciplines. If anything, they have a false sense of security; frequently they have managed to avoid any undergraduate contact with courses in sociology, psychology, and anthropology; and often have been taught that one should not take popular music seriously.

34. McQuail, Denis: Towards a Sociology of Mass Communications. London, Collier-Macmillan, 1969.

35. I have found the Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research (Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1972-) to be particularly useful.

36. Denisoff, R. Serge, and Peterson, Richard A., eds.: The Sounds of Social Change. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1972, p. 2. Item number four raises the issue of the origins of social change: does popular culture (as represented in the texts of popular songs) introduce novel ideas which then affect society, or does change originate in society to be subsequently reflected in popular culture?

37. State University of New York at Albany. School of Library and Information Science: Seminars and Special Courses. Mimeographed. Spring 1975.

38. For a succinct review of the historical evolution of this tie-in between radio broadcasting and the diffusion of popular music, see: Denisoff, R. Serge: The Evolution of Pop Music Broadcasting: 1920-1972. Popular Music and Society, 2:201-26, Spring 1973.

39. Hirsch, Ref. 30, p. 71.

40. Peterson, Richard A., and Berger, David G.: Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music. American Sociological Review, 40:170, April 1975.

41. Ibid.

42. Peterson, Richard A., and Berger, David G.: Three Eras in the Manufacture of Popular Music Lyrics. In: Denisoff, R. Serge, and Peterson, Richard A., eds.: The Sounds of Social Change. Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1972, pp. 282-305.

43. Stokes, Geoffry; Star-Making Machinery, the Odyssey of an Album. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1976, p. 9.

44. Hesbacher, Peter; Downing, Robert; and Berger, David G.: Sound Recording Popularity Charts: A Useful Tool for Music Research. Popular Music and Society 4:3-18, 86-99, 1975; _____: Record Roulette: What Makes it Spin? Journal of Communication, 25:3:74-85, Summer 1975.

45. Csida, Joe, and Csida, June Buddy: Charting the Hit Songs, Artists and Records. In: Billboard Publications, Inc.: Music/Records/200 (supplement to the July 4, 1976 issue of Billboard). Cincinnati, 1976, pp. 10 etc.

46. Stein, Seymour: Declaration of Independence. In: Music/Records/200, Ref. 45, pp. 6 etc.

47. Rieger, Jon H.: The Coming Crisis in the Youth Music Market. Popular Music and Society, 4:19-35, 1975.

48. Denisoff, Ref. 2, Solid Gold, p. 481.

49. Riesman, Ref. 21, p.

50. The best source for such studies is the periodical Popular Music and Society. An enterprising library school educator could make a useful contribution to the library literature by surveying the musical habits, knowledge, and preferences of graduate students of young adult librarianship.

51. Hirsch, Ref. 31, p. 50.

52. Denisoff, Ref. 2, Solid Gold, p. 427.

53. Wright, Regina: Musical tastes of Albany High School Students (an unpublished Seminar paper for Lib. 680, School of Library and Information Science, State University of New York at Albany, 1975).

54. Paychuk, Patricia: personal communication, 1975.

55. It is difficult to know what to make of the report that several

German psychiatrists claim that musicians performing in symphony orchestras are being made ill by the noise level and discord of avant-garde music, with ailments tentatively identified by such terms as Messaien's Migrain, Stockhausen Stomach, and Honneger's Insommia (see: Ryan, P.: Musical Medicine. New Scientist, 70:39, July 1, 1976).

56. Peretti, Peter O.: Changes in Galvanic Skin Response as Affected by Musical Selection, Sex and Academic Discipline. The Journal of Psychology, 89:187, March 1975.

57. Ridgeway and Roberts, Ref. 12, p. 248. The same issue is clearly related to different international and ethnic musical styles. The most creative research in this area is being done by Alan Lomax (see his: Folk Song Style and Culture. New Brunswick, N.J. Transaction Books, in press).

58. Robinson, John P., and Hirsch, Paul M.: It's the Sound that Does It. Psychology Today, 3:5:42-45, October 1969. It may be true that many young people do not understand many, all, or some of the words of the popular songs which they hear. But on the other hand, librarians who do not know the texts of the recorded songs they acquire for their collections may be risking the perpetuation of values which they themselves do not support or which are widely thought to be socially dysfunctional by parents. For example, when Peterson and Berger briefly examined hit song lyrics from 1973, they found "there were songs about sexual intercourse, homosexuality, interracial dating, drugs, filicide, abortion and the folly of being a war hero," Ref. 40, p. 169.

59. Goldberg, Herb: Rock Music & Sex. Sexual Behavior, 1:31, August, 1971.

60. Merriam, Ref. 8, p. 206.

61. Holsti, Ole R: Content Analysis and the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

62. Denzin, Norman K.: Problems in Analyzing Elements of Mass Culture: Notes on the Popular Song and Other Artistic Productions. American Journal of Sociology, 75:1035-8, May 1970.

63. Denisoff, R. Serge: The One Dimensional Approach to Popular Music: A Research Note. Journal of Popular Culture, 4:911-19, Spring 1971.

64. Horton, Donald: The Dialogue of Courtship in Popular Songs. The American Journal of Sociology, 52:569-78, May 1957.

65. Mooney, H. F.: Popular Music Since the 1920's: The Significance of Shifting Taste. American Quarterly, 20:67-85, Spring, 1968.

66. Cole: Richard R.: Top Songs of the Sixties. American Behavioral Scientist, 14:389-400, Jan. 1971.

67. Carey, James T.: Changing Courtship Patterns in the Popular Song. American Journal of Sociology, 74:720-31, May 1969.

68. Wanzenried, John, and Di Salvo, Vincent: Intensional and Extensional Orientations in Rock and Roll Music. Etc: A Review of General Semantics, 32:31-42, March 1975.

69. Cooper (see Refs. 18, 19, 20) has consistently avoided the more sensational aspects of popular song lyrics, has related popular music to the everyday lives of young people, and has been particularly concerned with the educational potentials of popular music. His comments on the educational uses of popular music are extremely relevant to young adult librarians, see: Cooper, B. Lee: Popular Culture: Teaching

Problems and Challenges. In: Popular Culture and the Library (Current Issues Symposium II), edited by Wayne A. Wiegand. Lexington, Ky., Office of Continuing Education, College of Library Science, University of Kentucky, 1977, pp. 10-26.

70. Chenoweth, Lawrence. The Rhetoric of Hope and Despair: A Study of the Jimi Hendrix Experience and the Jefferson Airplane. American Quarterly, 23:27, Spring 1971.

71. This ongoing project (see Ref. 16) seems to have been developed as a result of attempts to develop cultural indicators. See: Gerbner, George: Cultural Indicators: The Case of Violence in Television Drama. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 388:70-81, March 1970.

72. Hirsch, Ref. 31, p. i (title page).

73. Denisoff and Peterson, Ref. 36, include two studies which analyze country and western song lyrics. The content analysis technique used in Wanzenried and Di Salvo, Ref. 68, is also used in: Wanzenried, John, and Woody, Robert Henley: Country and Western Song Lyrics: Intensional and Extensional Orientations. Popular Music and Society, 5:5:89-92, 1977.

74. Nicholas, A. X.: The Poetry of Soul. New York, Bantam Books, 1971.

75. Clarke, Peter: Teenagers' Coorientation and Information-Seeking About Pop Music. American Behavioral Scientist, 16:551, April 1973.

76. Klapp, Orrin E.: The Creation of Popular Heroes. American Journal of Sociology, 54:135-41, Sept. 1948. _____: Hero Worship in

America. American Sociological Review, 14:53-62, Feb. 1949. For an interesting discussion of heroes written especially for young adults, see: Heroes: Do They Tell Us What We Want to Be? In: Valdes, Joan, and Crow, Jeanne: The Media Works. Dayton, Ohio, Pflaum/Standard, 1973, pp. 173-204.

77. Katz, Elihu, and Foulkes, David: On the Use of the Mass Media as "Escape": Clarification of a Concept. Public Opinion Quarterly, 26:377-88, Fall 1962.

78. Maitland, Leslie: "The Radio Band Increases in Volume Despite Frequency of Complaints," The New York Times, Tu., Aug. 10, 1976, p. 31

79. Luthe, Heinz Otto: Recorded Music and the Record Industry. International Social Science Journal, 20:664, 1968.

80. Swanson, David L.: The Uses and Misuses of Uses and Gratifications. Human Communication Research, 3:214-21, Spring 1977.

81. Carey, James W., and Kreiling, Albert L.: Popular Culture and Uses and Gratifications: Notes Toward an Accommodation. In: The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research, edited by Jay G. Blumler and Elihu Katz (Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research, 3) Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, 1974, pp. 225-248.

82. Harmon, James E.: Meaning in Rock Music: Notes Toward a Theory of Communication. Popular Music and Society, 2:25, Fall 1972.

83. Vuillamy, Graham. A Re-assessment of the "Mass Culture" Controversy: the Case of Rock Music. Popular Music and Society, 4:130-55, 1975.

84. Doughty, Howard A.: Rock: A Nascent Protean Form. Popular Music and Society, 2:155-65, Winter 1973.

85. Levine, Mark H., and Harig, Thomas J.: The Role of Rock: a Review and Critique of Alternative Perspectives on the Impact of Rock Music. Popular Music and Society, 4:205, 1975.

86. Harmon, Ref. 82, p. 24.

87. Mueller, John H.: The Social Nature of Musical Taste. Journal of Research in Music Education, 4:120, Fall 1956.

88. There are many recorded sources for such an exercise. I have found two LP anthologies compiled by Henry Cowell to be especially useful: The World's Vocal Arts, Folkways 4510; and Folk Music of the Mediterranean, Folkways 4501. For vocal styles of the great American blues traditions, see the LP's edited by Samuel B. Charters: The Country Blues, Folkways RBF 1, 9; and The Rural Blues: A Study of Vocal and Instrumental Resources, Folkways RBF 202. For additional sources of LP recordings of music of black people, other minority groups, and the major categories of white country and western, gospel, and folk music, see the extensive annotated discographies in Sandberg and Weissman (Ref. 98).

89. Gans, Ref. 24, p. 67.

90. Riesman, David: The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

91. Hirsch, Ref. 31, p. 53.

92. The first issue of Voya (Voice of Youth Advocates, a new periodical for young adult librarians) includes a list of records "that were and still are very popular with...[young adult library] patrons and albums that made it big on the charts and got a lot of 'air play' on the radio,"

Ballard, Jan: Soundquakes, Voya, 1:59-62, April 1978. The validity of using popularity as the basic criterion for record selection is the issue that should be carefully examined. I am not saying that the provision of materials is not a proper function of the public library, but that young adult librarians are obligated to justify the educational or cultural value of these sources.

93. Few critics have been sensitive to a wide variety of American popular vocal styles, yet the singular appeal of much popular music is a function of quite unique personal styles of individual performers. Perhaps it takes the analytical ear of a critic of classical music to appreciate such subtleties. In any case, no one has shown more appreciation of popular vocal styles than Henry Pleasant, see his: The Great American Popular Singers. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1974.

94. Palisca, Claude V., ed.: Music in Our Schools: A Search For Improvement. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1964, p. 19.

95. Ibid., p. 20. The extension of the concept of music appreciation as a formal study going beyond Western classical music is also now found in some undergraduate college courses. See: Mussulman, Joseph Agee: The Uses of Music: An Introduction to Music in Contemporary American Life. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1974; and Hamm, Nettl, and Byrnside, Ref. 23.

96. Grant, Carl A., ed.: Multicultural Education: Commitments, Issues, and Applications. Washington, D.C., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1977, pp. 124-25.

97. Halsey, Richard S.: Classical Music Recordings for Home and Library. Chicago, American Library Association, 1977.

98. Sandberg, Larry, and Weisman, Dick: The Folk Music Sourcebook. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

99. Miller, Jim, ed.: The Rolling Stone Illustrated History of Rock & Roll. New York, The Rolling Stone Press/Random House, 1976.

100. Reck, David: Music of the Whole Earth. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977.

101. Meyer, Leonard B.: Music, the Arts, and Ideas. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 129.

102. Some record companies invest hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising and other promotional activities. The President of Casablanca Records (the company responsible for the spectacular success of the rock group Kiss) stated that in promoting a new rock band, the company will "usually go as high as $500,000-$600,000 before we think twice" (see: Harrison, Ed: Number One With a Star, the Inside of Making a Hit Record. Billboard, May 21, 1977, p. 44). In passing, it is worth noting that, during a one year period, more money was probably spent in advertising an essentially third-rate, juvenile rock band than has been spent by all public libraries in the United States during the past century to promote their services.